APPENDIX C

Historical Background

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C1 Historic Roots of Current Access Issues

To a large extent, the transportation and urban design issues that the KCAI project aims to address are the unintended consequences of past planning efforts in Washington, DC as well as compromises that were made to fund and build the Kennedy Center.

C1.1 Planning in Washington, DC

C1.1.1 The L'Enfant and McMillan Eras

In 1791, President Washington and Congress entrusted Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, a French artist and engineer, with developing a plan for what would become the city of Washington, DC. L'Enfant devised a baroque plan that featured an orthogonal street grid with intersecting diagonal avenues radiating from two sites to be occupied by buildings for Congress and the President, respectively. L'Enfant specified that the avenues were to be broad thoroughfares lined with trees and situated in a manner that would visually connect the sites where important structures, monuments, and fountains were to be erected. L'Enfant's plan, as amended by surveyor Andrew Ellicot, was partially implemented over the next decades and still informs the basic structure of the central city. Many of the streets and avenues of the study area can be traced back to the original L'Enfant-Ellicot Plan, including New Hampshire and Virginia Avenues (see Appendix A, Figure 3.4-2).

At the turn of the 20th Century, the reclamation of the land now forming West Potomac Park (completed in the 1890s) gave urban planning in Washington a new impetus, resulting in the creation of a commission to prepare a general plan for the development of the newly-expanded District park system. The commission became known as the McMillan Commission in honor of Michigan Senator James McMillan, the group's chief Senate sponsor.

In 1902, the results of the McMillan Commission's studies were published in a report entitled *The Improvement of the Park System of the District of Columbia* (US Senate, 1902). The report included a plan that reaffirmed L'Enfant's concepts as the guide for future planning efforts in Washington, DC (US Senate, 1902). A large portion of the plan was devoted to restoring the Mall and associated parks according to L'Enfant's vision. Along these lines, the plan recommended designing West Potomac Park as the logical westward extension of the National Mall in a manner consistent with the north/south and east/west axes envisioned by L'Enfant for the city's core.

It is to this era that Washington, DC and the study area owe the Lincoln Memorial, Memorial Bridge, the Watergate Steps, and the Rock Creek Parkway, which all originated as recommendations from the McMillan Commission.

C1.1.2 The Era of the Motor Car

Although it still belonged to the McMillan era, the construction of the Rock Creek Parkway can in retrospect be seen as an early sign that a new planning era was already dawning. The opportunities and needs created by the rise of the motor car as the primary means of personal transportation would dominate this new era. Reaching full bloom during the 1950s, and illustrated at the national

level by the 1956 Interstate and Defense Highway Act, activity during this period left a deep mark on the study area in the form of the Theodore Roosevelt Bridge and its associated roadways carrying I-66 into the District, where it becomes the Potomac Freeway.

The idea of a limited-access, high-speed freeway that would be superimposed over the old street grid was first considered in the 1940s (Historic American Buildings Survey [HABS], undated) and was endorsed in the 1950 Comprehensive Plan for Washington, DC. Under the leadership of Harland Bartholomew, who was appointed chair in 1954, the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC) took a leading role in planning and promoting the construction of new roads in Washington, DC. One such project was the Inner Loop, a ring of freeways that was to cut through the street grid. The Inner Loop was designed to accommodate up to 120,000 cars per day. The project was begun but, in large part because of citizen opposition, was never completed. An element of it survives today in the project's study area as the Potomac Freeway, which runs east of the Kennedy Center between the Roosevelt Bridge and K Street (Sherwood, 1978).

As originally conceived, the Inner Loop was to connect to Virginia by a new bridge, somewhere north of Memorial Bridge. Because of controversy arising from the size, location, and impact of the bridge on nearby monuments and parks, it took several years for a final design to be adopted and approved by NCPC, the Commission of Fine Arts (CFA), and the National Park Service (NPS) (Sherwood, 1978). Construction began in late 1960 and was completed in 1964. By the mid 1960s, all the main elements of the system of freeways and access ramps that today characterize the study area near the Kennedy Center were in place.

C1.2 The Kennedy Center

Much of the information presented in this section is drawn from Ralph E. Becker's *Miracle on the Potomac: The Kennedy Center from the Beginning* (1990).

C1.2.1 Choosing a Location

The Kennedy Center's origins can be traced to Public Law 128, signed by President Eisenhower on July 1, 1955. This law created the DC Auditorium Commission. While the notion of a national auditorium of some sort had been floated in the 1930s (Kohler, 1996), the new law was the first concrete step toward making the idea a reality.

The 1955 law provided for the creation of a 21-member bipartisan commission that would prepare (as cited in Becker, 1990):

> *Plans for the design, location, financing, and construction in the District of Columbia for a civic auditorium including an Inaugural Hall of Presidents and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center.*

The commission's report was issued on January 31, 1957. It proposed a $36 million "National Civic Auditorium and Cultural Center for the Citizens of the United States" that would include, among other facilities, a concert hall with a capacity of approximately 4,000 seats, a theater with a capacity of between 1,400 and 1,800 seats, a mass communications facility, exhibit areas, a restaurant, and a

parking garage capable of accommodating 1,500 to 2,000 cars (Becker, 1990). For this new facility, the commission recommended a 27-acre area in Foggy Bottom that encompassed not only most of the present Kennedy Center site, but the blocks where the Saudi Arabian Embassy and Columbia Plaza now stand as well. The proposal was submitted to Congress for debate.

While the general notion of a national auditorium encountered little opposition, the issue of its location soon became a point of contention both in and outside Congress. The combined influence of those who did not want the auditorium in Foggy Bottom (for instance, the developers of the Potomac Plaza complex) and of those who wanted it elsewhere (a number of officials, including the head of NCPC, preferred a site in Southwest Washington) temporarily stalled the project.

It was revived the following year through the introduction of House Resolution (HR) 9848 and Senate Bill (S) 3335, with a proviso that the planned auditorium would be located on the Mall, in a location that another bill had set aside for the construction of an air museum. Because of the strong support for the air museum, there was a serious risk that the auditorium project would once again be stopped dead in its tracks. A compromise position emerged when General Alvin Welling of the US Army Corps of Engineers, a member of the District Board of Commissioners, offered the use of 13 acres of land along the Potomac River near the location originally recommended by the Auditorium Commission, in exchange for support in securing a location for the controversial Roosevelt Bridge (Becker, 1990). This allowed the defenders of the auditorium project to present the Senate's Public Works Committee with an alternative location to the Mall site. As proponents of the Mall site continued to pressure the Committee, a decision was made to refer the matter to CFA (Becker, 1990).

CFA selected four possible sites for closer examination: the Mall, across from the National Gallery of Arts, where the Air and Space Museum now stands; Foggy Bottom at 26th Street and Rock Creek Parkway, south of New Hampshire Avenue; the old Naval Hospital site, bounded by Constitution Avenue and 23rd, 25th, and E Streets; and the site of the old Pension Building, bounded by 4th, 5th, F, and G Streets. After consulting with representatives of government and private interests, CFA recommended that the auditorium be built on the Foggy Bottom site. The Public Works Committee accepted the recommendation, and the new site was substituted for the Mall site in S 3335, the purpose of which was, according to the report that accompanied it (as cited in Becker, 1990):

> *To establish in the Smithsonian Institution a Board of Trustees of the National Center, composed of 15 specified federal officials, members ex officio, and 15 general trustees appointed by the President to cause to be constructed for the Institution, with funds raised by voluntary contributions, a building to be designated as the National Cultural Center on a site in the District of Columbia bounded by Rock Creek Parkway, New Hampshire Avenue, the proposed Inner Loop Freeway, and the approach to the authorized Theodore Roosevelt Bridge.*

On June 20, 1958, the Senate voted unanimously in favor of S 3335. On September 2, 1958, President Eisenhower signed the National Cultural Center Act. Early the following year, the Board of Trustees mandated by the law was constituted, and the search for an architect began.

C1.2.2 Adopting a Design

To design the new Cultural Center, the Board selected internationally-renowned architect Edward Durell Stone. Partly because of constraints on the east side of the site, where the west leg of the Inner Loop Freeway was being planned, and partly because of the inherent advantages of the riverside site, Durell Stone opted to emphasize the connection of the Center to the river. His original plans called for a curvilinear building (still echoed by the design of the neighboring Watergate, the architect of which adopted a complementary style), 100 feet high and 180 feet in diameter, which would extend over the water and be accessible by barge. The structure (shown below) would be set in a park-like setting that would take full advantage of the river. Construction would necessitate the diversion of the Rock Creek Parkway to the east side of the building (Becker, 1990; Kohler, 1996). The parkway would become the main access road to the center (FHWA, September 2000). The design was presented to CFA for approval in October 1959.

Edward Durell Stone's original design for the new National Cultural Center, later to become the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts (west side).

The Commission strongly approved, but at the same time expressed its concerns regarding the relationship of the Cultural Center to its surroundings and its accessibility (as cited in Kohler, 1996):

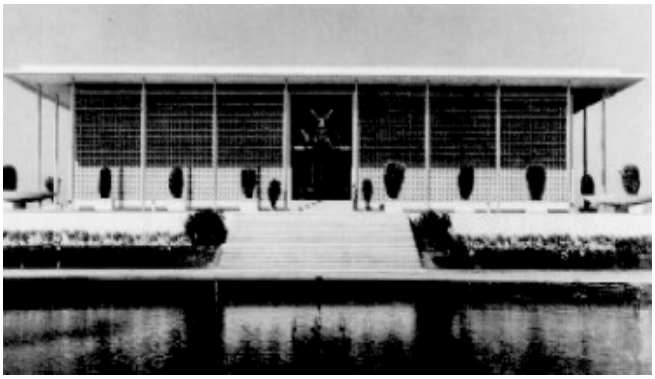
> *Such a center requires space commensurate with the architectural concept. The Commission, therefore, strongly urges that additional space be made available to the north and east of the present site of the Cultural Center and in this way provide protection and a fitting landscape setting for the building. Some consideration should also be given to a possible pedestrian access from the mall – a consideration which requires a drastic restudy of the proposed highway complex between the Lincoln Memorial and the Cultural Center.*

At $85 million, however, Durell Stone's grand design proved too expensive for a project that was to be funded exclusively through private contributions. From the beginning, fundraising was the

Board's highest priority, and one of the first things Roger Stevens, a businessman appointed chairman of the Board of Trustees by President Kennedy, did was to ask Durell Stone to review his design to make the project more affordable (Becker, 1990).

The architect proceeded to modify the plans and came up with the building that stands today, which cut the cost by more than half, to $31 million. The performing arts center as Durell Stone now envisioned it bore a striking resemblance to other creations by the same architect, such as the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi and the New Graduate Residence Hall at the University of Chicago (see photos below).

Among other compromises, the direct connection to the river was sacrificed, which allowed the Rock Creek Parkway to stay where it was but resulted in a building that turned its back to the river. On the east, the grand approach originally conceived by the architect also disappeared, and was replaced by a stub driveway from New Hampshire Avenue. The Potomac Freeway and associate Mall to the southeast ramps cut the building off from downtown and President's Park to the east and from the National



Edward Durell Stone. U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, 1954

Edward Durell Stone. New Graduate Residence Hall, University of Chicago, 1963.

C1.2.3 Building the Kennedy Center

The early 1960s were devoted mostly to fundraising and land acquisition. Following the assassination of President Kennedy, the idea quickly arose to make the National Cultural Center, which the late president had wholeheartedly supported, a monument to his memory. Despite encountering some opposition, mostly on fiscal grounds, the law that made the former National Cultural Center into the Kennedy Center was passed by Congress and signed by President Johnson in January 1964 (Becker, 1990). This facilitated construction of the Center by making public funding available. By 1966, the land acquisition campaign was over. Prior to construction, it was necessary to close the streets and alleys that ran through the site. Most notable was the closing of New Hampshire Avenue south of F Street.

In the meantime, opposition to the Foggy Bottom location continued. The architectural critic of the *Washington Post*, Wolf Van Eckardt, summarized many arguments in a March 1964 article, excerpted in Sherwood (1978):

> *The first assumption is that Stone's building would sit "in a park-like setting." It will not. Stone is right when he says that his site along the Potomac River, opposite Roosevelt Island, is "absolutely" poetic […] But wait until the massive 130-foot-high Watergate Town Apartments, the maze of raised, sunken, and looping concrete highway ribbons, the Columbia Plaza project, and access ramps to Theodore Roosevelt Bridge are all completed […]. [The project] irretrievably blocks off the city west of the Mall from its river front.*

The Washington chapter of the American Association of Architects also registered its opposition to the project, largely based on the problems perceived to arise from the highway and other development projects in the same area, which, in the views of chapter member Francis D. Lethbridge, detracted from what he thought the real role of the center should be (as quoted in Sherwood, 1978):

> *The environs of the Center must be as much a part of the design as the project itself. The Center must reach out to the surrounding city just as the city must extend to the Center. Around a truly vital cultural nucleus, related activities will develop and they should be encouraged: private art galleries, book shops, music stores, important works of sculpture in a handsomely landscaped park, arcades, outdoor cafes, fountains, hotels – in those things, through thoughtful planning and sensitive design, the Center could extend its spirit and influence.*

To these arguments, the Board of Trustees replied that far from being hard to reach and cut off from its surroundings, the Center was well served by the many freeways and highways recently built in its vicinity (Becker, 1990). As illustrated by this debate, the issues raised by the location of the Kennedy Center amidst freeways and ramps, with both its positive – regional accessibility – and negative – separation from the city – aspects, date back to the Center's very beginnings. Although they have not prevented the success of the Kennedy Center, to this day these issues remain unresolved.

C2 Study Area: Prehistoric and Historic Overview

This section provides background information for the descriptions of known archaeological and architectural resources in the study area that are presented in Subchapters 3.7.3 and 3.7.4, respectively.

C2.1 Prehistoric Overview

The basic prehistoric archaeological sequence and chronology for the District of Columbia follows that of the eastern United States as a whole:

- Paleo-Indian (c. 9000-7000 BC).

- Early Archaic (7000-5000 BC).
- Middle Archaic (5000-3000 BC).
- Late Archaic (3000-1000 BC).
- Early Woodland (1000 BC - 0 AD).
- Middle Woodland (1-1000 AD).
- Late Woodland (1000-1650 AD).

Paleo-Indian. Paleo-Indian groups were very small and highly mobile hunter-gatherers who exploited the post-glacial environment. Some 25 Paleo-Indian sites are known in the Chesapeake area as a whole (Dent 1995: 107). There are a few small, excavated sites from that period in Maryland and Virginia, such as Flint Run on the Shenandoah River (Gardner 1977). The majority of evidence for Paleo-Indian utilization of the Potomac River comes from surface collections, such as the River Point site at the confluence of the Potomac and Seneca Creek (Dent 1995: 116). Low densities of fluted points can be found in western Maryland, while larger quantities are found in northern Virginia (Anderson and Faught, 1998).

In the Potomac River Valley proper, the Catoctin Creek site in Loudoun County, Virginia is the primary manifestation (Dent 1991, 1993). This site contains a large quantity of manufacturing, lithic debris. The presence of high-quality flint, in particular local jasper, as well as the possibility of hunting large animals along the margins of retreating forests, may have been incentives for Paleo-Indians to exploit northern Virginia more intensively than the Maryland plateau and the Delmarva peninsula (Wall, 1991). Dent suggests that marine transgression and subtle resource and temperature variations from north to south and east to west played important roles in conditioning Paleo-Indian patterns of movement in the Chesapeake region.

Archaic. The Archaic environment of the lower Potomac basin offered a variety of marine resources and small game along the coast, in swamps, and in mixed forests. This period's material culture is characterized by a variety of notched projectile point traditions. Typical Early Archaic types include the Hardaway, Palmer and Kirk series, followed by points with bifurcated bases, such as the LeCroy, St. Albans, and Kanawha series. During the Middle Archaic, the stemmed Stanley, Morrow Mountain I and II, and Guildford series are the local manifestations of what Dincauze (1976) called the "Atlantic Slope Macrotradition," which extended from New Hampshire to North Carolina. Finally, during the Late Archaic, the regional subtraditions become numerous, and are characterized by narrow- and broad-stemmed varieties (Dent 1995: 156-161).

Very few Early Archaic sites are known in the Chesapeake region, but the Slade site on the Nottoway River in Sussex County, Virginia has the longest sequence (Dent 1995: 168). Settlement data suggest that Early Archaic groups preferred river terraces, while Middle and Late Archaic groups gradually favored various upland environments such as ridges and mountain valleys. The extant Early and Middle Archaic evidence indicates complex patterns of movement, subsistence, and resource procurement, including contact with groups well outside the region. A number of Early and Middle Archaic sites are known in the Washington area, including the Potomac Avenue site along the Potomac Palisades in the District of Columbia (McNett, 1972) and the Indian Creek V site in Prince George's County, Maryland (Leedecker and Holt, 1991). Site location and the prevalence of small projectile points indicate the importance of small animal hunting, and the gradual coalescence of more numerous but still small groups. The importance of anadromous fish (those that migrate upriver from the sea to breed in fresh water), such as herring and shad, is also indicated by site

location, as is shellfish exploitation during the Middle and certainly the Late Archaic (Dent 1995177-178; cf. Waselkov, 1982).

By the Late Archaic period, large base camps were established along major riverine and estuarine systems, suggesting semi-sedentary occupation (Custer, 1988). The use of carved stone vessels also became common, indicating a more sedentary lifestyle and interaction with cultures of the Southeast (Sassaman, 1999). Toward the very end of the Archaic period, the Susquehanna tradition, marked by fishtail points and broad blades, including Snook Kill, Perkiomen, Wayland notched, and Orient points, emerged along the eastern seaboard. The rate of sea-level rise had slowed dramatically by the Late Archaic, allowing the formation of highly productive estuarine environments and intensive exploitation of shellfish. Modern temperature and climate regimes were established by the end of the period, creating sylvan environments in the northern Chesapeake region and more specialized niches in the south. Dent characterizes the Late Archaic period as one of gradual intensification leading toward horticulture, and increasing social pressures to form into tribal units (Dent 1995 188).

Woodland. The Woodland period in the Chesapeake saw the development of horticulture, extensive trade networks, and the emergence of larger settlements and social units, including the predecessors of historically-attested tribes. The origins of Late Woodland tribes remain controversial, with two basic hypotheses placing ancestral groups on either the Eastern Shore or in the area of modern Montgomery County (Potter 1993: 126-138).

In technological terms, the Woodland period is marked by the emergence of pottery. Different pottery types are often found in close association with specific lithic types. The earliest known pottery type is Marcey Creek, which used crushed steatite temper. Various decorated types quickly followed, such as Vinette I, which used quartz temper and coil construction with interior smoothing and exterior cord decoration (Dent 1995: 221). Middle Woodland ceramics include cord- and fabric-marked types such as Mockley. The use of shell temper increased, indicating use of pottery in food production. During the Late Woodland period a large variety of types are known, including Selden Island, Croaker Landing, and Accokeek ware (Dent 1995: 222-227). Outside contacts are evidenced by the adoption of the elaborate mortuary ceremonialism of the Adena/Hopewell culture of the Midwest, including stone and metal objects (Thomas, 1970). Local mortuary behavior also began to emphasize collective burial in ossuaries with extensive grave goods. The number of interments ranges from only a few up to more than 600 (Dent 1995: 254).

Woodland settlements indicate the emergence of full sedentarism by the end of the period. A variety of house types appears, including oval structures and pithouses, as does a variety of below-ground storage features. Horticulture based on the triad of cultigens – maize (*Zea mays*), beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*), and squash (*Cucurbita pepo*) – emerges ca. AD 900-1000, supplemented by large scale shellfish use. The Popes Creek shell mound, for example, is an accumulation site that is almost one meter deep and extends over six hectares (Dent 1995: 240). The Chesapeake landscape of the Late Woodland period is partitioned into tribal territories, along which ran trade corridors. Palisaded villages characterized the end of the Woodland period up to the first contact with Europeans. Numerous phases of palisade appeared before contact, indicating escalating competition between groups; unoccupied buffer zones may have separated political territories.

It appears that "cells" of Algonquin speakers began to arrive in the Chesapeake region during the Middle Woodland period. The Algonquin-speaking Conoys (an Iroquoian term for "enemies") occupied the northern Potomac, and a "kingdom" of the Nacotchtanks occupied the District of

Columbia area. The Conoys were dominated by the Powhatan chiefdom of the James River basin. Population estimates for the Nacotchtanks at the beginning of the 17th century range from 1000 to 7000 (Potter 1993: 3, 14-23). Captain John Smith appeared in the Chesapeake in 1608 and began the displacement of native groups, which was largely completed by the beginning of the 18th century.

C2.2 Historical Overview

C2.2.1 Contact/Early Historic Settlement (17th and 18th Centuries)

As noted above, the Nacotchtanks inhabited the site of Washington, DC around the time of initial European exploration in the early 17th century (Potter 2003). Historians believe that there were two Native American villages within the present city boundaries. Archaeological fieldwork conducted at the intersection of the Whitehurst Freeway and 27th Street identified potentially Contact-era Native American remains (Engineering Science [ES] 1993).

When the site for the future federal capital was chosen and announced in 1791, the area that would become Foggy Bottom was not virgin land. A German immigrant named Jacob Funk had already attempted to create a town there. In 1765, Funk purchased 130 acres bounded by the river and modern 19th and 24th Streets. He subdivided the parcel into lots and named the town Hamburgh. However, Funk's plans for a large settlement, complete with wharves and a street grid, were never fully realized. Hamburgh remained mostly a drawing on paper. It was eventually incorporated into the new city (Sherwood, 1978).

C2.2.2 First Half of the 19th Century

The L'Enfant-Ellicot plan for Washington (see Subchapter 1.4) provided the general blueprint for Washington's development from its founding. Although Virginia Avenue, New Hampshire Avenue, and Reservation 4 (now the Potomac Naval Annex) featured prominently in the plan, the rest of the street grid shown for the area is somewhat sketchy. Progressively, however, a fairly tight network of streets connected to, and consistent with, the rest of the city's street grid developed. Links to Georgetown, in particular, were established early on K Street and Pennsylvania Avenue.

Appendix A, Figure 3.7-1 (Old Street Grid and City Squares) shows all the streets and city squares that existed in the study area. Throughout the area's history, new segments of streets and alleys were opened or closed to meet the needs of the city or those of local property owners, so the street grid must be thought of as a dynamic reality. Those city squares adjacent to Rock Creek and the Potomac River also changed over the years, as extensive land-filling and reclaiming operations modified the shorelines and increased the amount of land available for development.

Rock Creek, in particular, was a much larger stream in the 18th century than it is today. It was approximately 300 feet wide at the foot of K Street (ES, 1993) and navigable up to present day P Street (Sherwood, 1978). A 1752 survey shows the mouth of the creek as a "broad estuary" (Artemel and Crowell, 1984), but the 1802 Matthew Carey Map of Washington City indicates that already by that date, this "broad estuary" had been considerably filled on both the Georgetown and Foggy Bottom sides.

During the first decades of the 19th century, land use in the Foggy Bottom area centered on shipping, warehousing, and other activities that could take advantage of the proximity of both the Potomac River and Rock Creek (Sherwood, 1978). The numerous wharves and landings on the east side of Rock Creek were quite active through the 1830s (ES, 1993). Examples of early industries within the project study area include the city's first brewery, built in 1796 at B Street and the Potomac between 21st and 23rd Streets; the Glass House, a glass-blowing factory established in 1807 at the foot of 22nd Street (ES, 1993); the Hayman Brewery, established around 1830 at the corner of 26th and K Streets; and a lime kiln that stood in the vicinity of K and 26th Streets (Sherwood, 1978).

However, like Washington as a whole, Foggy Bottom developed slowly in the first half of the 19th century. Old city directories reveal that it was home to only 40 households in 1822 and 58 households in 1850. By 1860, 175 households were listed (Sherwood, 1978). The neighborhood's mid-century growth spurt after decades of stagnation was fed by two interconnected trends. The first one was an increased industrialization spurred by the opening of the C&O Canal. The canal was completed in Georgetown in 1834. It was linked to the Potomac River through Rock Creek, with which it merged at the level of L Street. This resulted in extensive modifications to the mouth of the creek. A bulkhead or retaining wall was built from the west bank on the Georgetown side to the foot of G Street on the Foggy Bottom side to form a basin, accessible from the river through a lock, still visible today. The second trend, directly dependent on the first one, was growing immigration, which provided the nascent industries with needed labor. In the second half of the 19th century, Foggy Bottom thus evolved into one of Washington's industrial, working-class, ethnic neighborhoods.

C2.2.3 Second Half of the 19th Century

During the second half of the 19th century, alterations of the area's waterways through land-filling activities, canal building, and intensive dock and wharf construction along Rock Creek and the Potomac River began creating environmental problems that in turn affected the built environment. Silting accelerated, resulting in the creation on the Potomac of a large tidal mud flat that extended from the point where the river turned east (near the southwest corner of the present Kennedy Center site – see Appendix A, Figure 3.7-1, on which the approximate position of the old shoreline is indicated) well past the foot of 23rd Street (Boschke, 1861).

In 1882, the federal government embarked on a plan to remedy the silting problem that affected both the Potomac and the Anacostia rivers. Congress allocated $400,000 for dredging operations, which continued for more than a decade. The Army Corps of Engineers used the dredged material to fill in the swampy, recently-evolved Potomac flat. By the turn of the century, a large portion of virgin land had thus been reclaimed from the river and was available for development.

What to make of this new land became an object of debate, and government officials and private individuals proposed a variety of schemes, including private development and a large public park. In 1897, Congress passed a bill establishing the entire area "now being reclaimed together with tidal reservoirs... [as] a public park, under the name Potomac Park, and to be forever held and used as a park for the recreation and pleasure of the people." Situated between the Washington Monument and the new eastern shore of the Potomac River, the site, divided into two sections by the Tidal Basin, was designated East Potomac Park (approximately 330 acres) and West Potomac Park (approximately 400 acres) (Robinson & Associates, 1998; Streatfield, 1991). By 1909, the ambitious

project was largely completed and included bridle paths, footpaths, and roads within both parks. Later, following the recommendations of the McMillan Commission (see Subchapter 1.3), West Potomac Park became the site of the Lincoln Memorial and Memorial Bridge.

While the study area's newly-emerged South Sector was turned into a park, the rest had acquired a heavily industrial character. As early as 1856, the Washington Gas Light Company settled near the intersection of New Hampshire and Virginia Avenue. Over the years, the company expanded and took over entire city squares. At its maximum extension, it occupied all of Squares 7, 8, 9, and 18, where the Watergate complex now stands, and Square 31, the present location of Potomac Plaza (see Appendix A, Figure 3.7-1). The large circular gas storage tanks it erected remained a major defining visual element of the neighborhood until the 1950s.

Brewing was the other signature industry of the area. Breweries are documented in Foggy Bottom from the late 18th century on, but the two principal ones arrived in the neighborhood later on. In the 1870s, John Albert started the Albert Brewing Company, later to be known as the Abner-Drury Brewery (Sherwood, 1978). It was located on Square 32, one of the city squares now occupied by Columbia Plaza. It went out of business in 1922. Better known is the Christian Heurich Brewery, which in 1895 moved to Square 22 and remained there until it was demolished to make room for the Potomac Freeway. Along with the round gas tanks of the Washington Gas Light Company, the Heurich Brewery building long remained a defining element of the old Foggy Bottom skyline. The Christian Heurich company also owned an ice-making plant (the Hygeia Ice Company), located on Square 21.

A number of other industries with less staying power made their homes in or near the study area over the years. From the mid- to late-19th century, Captain William Easby's several businesses and properties lined the south shore of Rock Creek and the C&O Canal: a shipyard, wharves and storehouses, and tenant houses on Square 12 (Sherwood, 1978). Easby also owned lime kilns, another characteristic industry of 19th-century Foggy Bottom; only the ruins of Godey's kiln now survive. Kilns tended to cluster near the canal, on Square 2 and west of Square 4. By the early 20th century, Easby's shipyard and wharves had been replaced by the stores of a coal dealer (Square West of 9) and by the Cranford Paving Company (Squares 11, 12, and south of Square 12), which paved many of the District's streets and avenues (Sherwood, 1978). However, the changes wrought by the creation of West Potomac Park and the construction of the Rock Creek Parkway (see Subchapter 1.3), as well as the declining economic role played by water transportation, soon led to the disappearance of those waterfront industries.

During its heyday as an industrial area, Foggy Bottom became home to a growing number of working-class households, who gave the neighborhood its particular social and architectural character. Along with a growing number of African Americans, recent German immigrants (many working for the brewing companies) and Irish immigrants (many working for the Washington Gas Light Company) settled in the area (Sherwood, 1978). These were the people who lived in the alley dwellings that gave old Foggy Bottom what many perceived to be a slum-like character, and whose last picturesque remnants are now protected as part of the Foggy Bottom Historic District. Alley dwellings were built behind regular city lots and were accessible only through back alleys. They appeared in Foggy Bottom somewhat later than in the rest of the city. Absentee landlords built most alley dwellings. Invisible and not subject to the same regulations as street-facing buildings, alley dwellings could easily degenerate into overpopulated slums. Already in the 1870s, the city's Board of Health talked about eliminating them, without success. An 1892 law partially checked their further

growth, letting existing ones stand, including Hughes Court (Square 16) and Green's Alley (Square 5) in Foggy Bottom (Sherwood, 1978).

C2.2.4 20th Century

The first half of the 20th century was a time of slow decline for the Foggy Bottom industries. As waterways lost their economic role to railroads, transportation-dependent businesses moved to locations with better connections to the railway system. The breweries were badly hurt by Prohibition and later by changes in taste and techniques. Although the Heurich Brewery closed only in 1960, it had stopped being a major economic engine for the area much earlier (Sherwood, 1978). In 1947, the Washington Gas Light Company announced its departure from the neighborhood and began to dismantle the facilities that were standing on the future site of the Watergate complex. The last circular tanks were taken down in 1954 (Sherwood, 1978). Old industries were replaced by new, lighter ones, such as the Washington Laundry and the Sterling Laundry, which stood side-by-side along the west side of Square 4 from the 1930s through the 1950s. Warehouses, garages, storage facilities, and other land uses that typically appear wherever inexpensive land is available also appeared. For instance, the future site of the Kennedy Center in 1948 was home to the Cranford Paving Company, a Marine Corps garage and carpenter shop, a State Department garage, a riding school, and Riverside Stadium.

The area lost much of its economic vitality without losing its gritty industrial character, guaranteeing that as working-class families left the area, they would be replaced by even poorer people, many of them black. The housing stock, never of the best quality, steadily deteriorated. It soon became the object of the attention of the Alley Housing Authority, formed in 1934 to do away with this mode of housing, inaugurating the era of urban renewal that would come to full bloom in the 1950s and 1960s.

An early and important element in the transformation of Foggy Bottom was the growing presence of the federal government. Reservation 4 dated back to the L'Enfant Plan. With the construction of the Naval Observatory in the mid 19th century, it became the site of the first important scientific establishment built by the federal government (Sherwood, 1978). In 1892, the Naval Observatory was moved to a new location on Massachusetts Avenue, following which a naval hospital was established in the Naval Observatory buildings in Foggy Bottom (Sherwood, 1978).

Wars brought additional federal presence to the area. During the Civil War, a corral with stables and fences extended by the river between 21st and 22nd Streets, and Camp Fry occupied land south of Washington Circle along 23rd Street (Sherwood, 1978). Both world wars placed extra demands on the federal government, and led to the construction of temporary structures in West Potomac Park. The most important step was taken in 1947, when the Department of State moved into its present building, a facility originally planned for the Department of War (Sherwood, 1978).

By 1950, the area was ripe for redevelopment, having been made more attractive with the departure of the gas works and the arrival of the Department of State. The changes in Foggy Bottom in the 1950s and 1960s were the result of the complex, and not always peaceful, interaction of private interests and government intervention through planning.

The highways planned and built in the area in the 1950s and 1960s have been described in Subchapter 1.3.1. Their construction led to the disappearance of Constitution Avenue and E Street west of 23rd Street; of 26th Street south of I Street; of most of 25th Street south of Virginia Avenue; and of what was left of 27th Street between K Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. With these streets, entire city squares vanished: Squares 4 and 5 in the North Sector of the study area and Squares 19 through 22 in its Center Sector. Together with the large development projects described below, these roadway changes amounted to a radical alteration of the area's historic street grid, even though this grid had been constantly changing and evolving over the years, with stretches of streets or alleys being either opened or closed to meet new needs and opportunities. Such changes either continued, or detracted little from, the general L'Enfant-McMillan-inspired overall scheme. Nevertheless, the street grid and development alterations of the 1950s and 1960s considerably isolated the neighborhood from the rest of the city.

Urban planning in the Foggy Bottom area took the form of the designation of the area bounded by H Street, Virginia Avenue, the Rock Creek Parkway, Pennsylvania Avenue, and 24th Street as an urban renewal area in the 1950s. According to neighborhood historian Susan Sherwood, "the urban renewal program failed because urban renewal's purpose was essentially different from what was needed in Foggy Bottom. The goal of urban renewal was to remove urban blight. The blight was being removed in Foggy Bottom without public assistance, but it was occurring too quickly and in a haphazard fashion" (Sherwood, 1978).

One of the earliest manifestations of this somewhat difficult redevelopment process was the construction of the Potomac Plaza Apartment house on Square 31, where the Washington Gas Light Company's huge tanks had once stood. This was the work of a private syndicate – the Potomac Parkway Plaza Development Corporation – that had formed to take advantage of the gas works moving out of the neighborhood. The original plans called for a Washington version of New York's Rockefeller Center complete with an ice rink, but the developers ran into difficulties with the planners responsible for the area (Sherwood, 1978). Today's Potomac Plaza Apartment complex is a legacy of this project.

If the private sector built Potomac Plaza, the Columbia Plaza residential complex was an urban renewal effort planned by NCPC and carried out by the Urban Renewal Administration, which in 1961 began buying the land and relocating the businesses and inhabitants of the several city squares to be redeveloped. The project was a controversial one, as many felt it to be a sort of government-sponsored gentrification. Difficulties over the transfer of property to the developers also delayed the project, and construction did not start until 1965. The first building officially opened in late 1967. The addition of an office building was initiated in 1970 (Sherwood, 1978).

The last of the great redevelopment projects in the study area was the construction of the Watergate on the remaining land formerly owned and occupied by the Washington Gas Light Company. An Italian company acquired the land in 1960. In spite of difficulties with the planning agencies concerned and some degree of public controversy, the Watergate project proceeded relatively fast, with the first building opening in 1965. The complex was completed in 1970 (Sherwood, 1978).

Parallel to those large and ambitious projects, a number of smaller efforts were made to renovate and save some of the old alley dwellings and other small-scale neighborhood buildings. These efforts by individuals or small groups or firms culminated in the creation and listing on the National Register of Historic Places of the Foggy Bottom Historic District. The efforts also contributed to

the general economic and social shift that characterized the post-1950s era in Foggy Bottom. As redevelopment led to higher property values, the mostly poor, black population was displaced by a mostly middle-class, white one. The change was fast. In 1950, Foggy Bottom was a predominantly black neighborhood. By 1956, 67 percent of its residents were white (Sherwood, 1978).

With the completion of the Kennedy Center in 1971, the current study area came into existence. Since then, no changes comparable to those that occurred in the 1950s and 1960s have taken place. The study area's general layout and appearance are essentially a legacy of those two decades.